CHAPTER 10 Foreign Policy and Internationalism

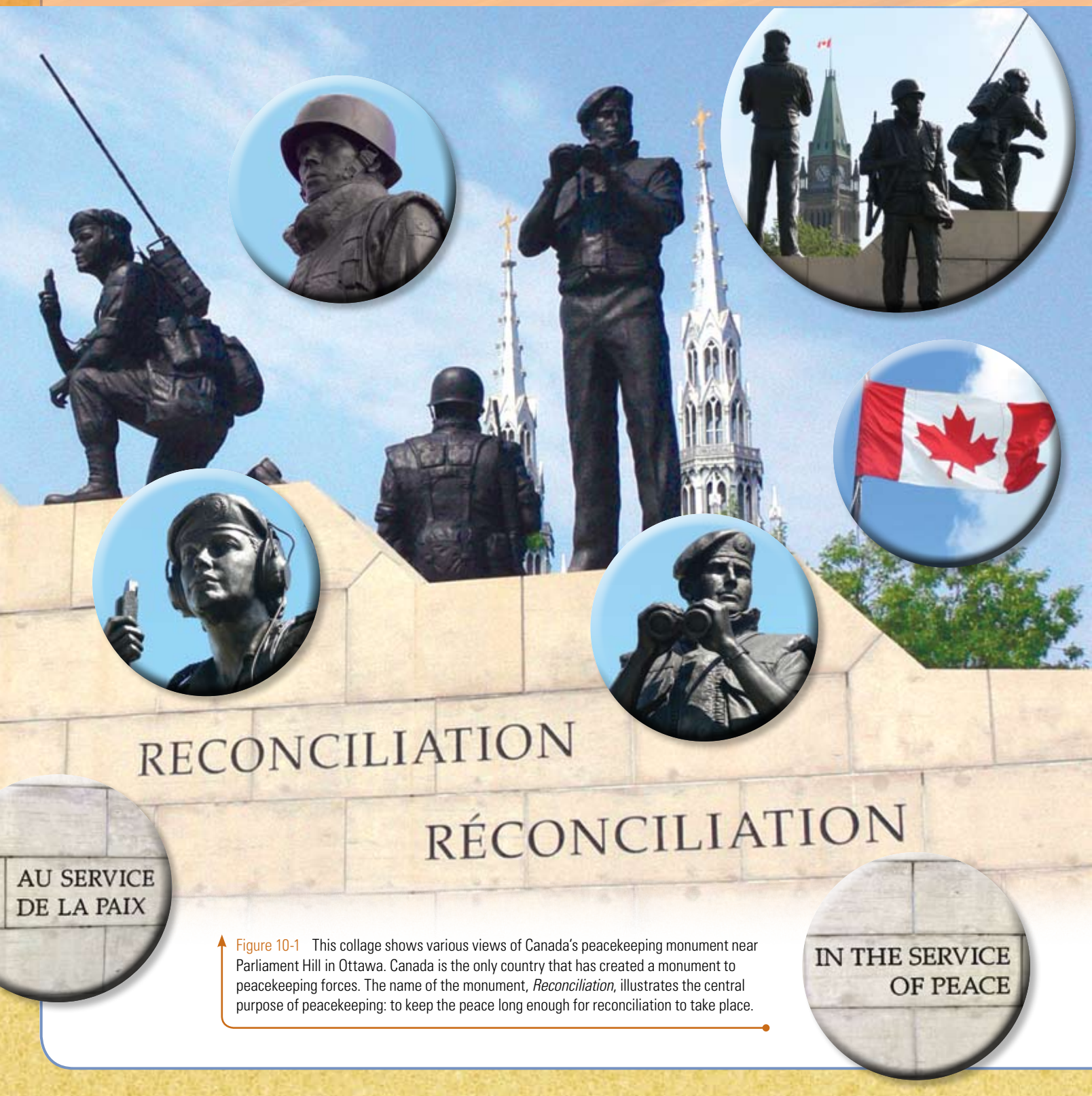


Figure 10-1 This collage shows various views of Canada's peacekeeping monument near Parliament Hill in Ottawa. Canada is the only country that has created a monument to peacekeeping forces. The name of the monument, *Reconciliation*, illustrates the central purpose of peacekeeping: to keep the peace long enough for reconciliation to take place.

CHAPTER ISSUE

To what extent can foreign policy promote internationalism?

Reconciliation, Canada's peacekeeping monument, was designed by sculptor Jack Harman, urban designer Richard Henriquez, and landscape architect Cornelia Oberlander. The monument depicts three peacekeepers — two men and a woman — keeping watch from a wall amid the debris of war. In front of them, a grove of young trees symbolizes peace. In 1988, United Nations peacekeepers won the Nobel Peace Prize for 40 years of tireless effort to keep the peace in various parts of the world. This monument commemorates Canada's contribution to those missions.

Examine the collage carefully, then respond to the following questions:

- What is your initial response to the collage of the peacekeeping monument? Does your sense of national identity influence your response?
- What does the existence of the peacekeeping monument say about Canada?
- Why is the name of this monument significant? What other names might have been chosen for this monument?
- The peacekeeping monument is located in Ottawa, Canada's capital and a city that hosts many tourists. What message might this monument convey to visitors from other countries?

KEY TERMS

economic sanctions

collective security

gross national income

tied aid

Looking Ahead

In this chapter, you will develop responses to the following questions as you explore the extent to which foreign policy can promote internationalism:

- How do countries set foreign policy?
- How can states promote internationalism through foreign policy?
- How does Canadian foreign policy try to balance national interest and internationalism?

My Journal on Nationalism

Look again at the collage of the peacekeeping monument. Think about how you could use a collage to express your current ideas about nationalism. Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can return to them as you progress this course.

How do countries set foreign policy?

People living in communities elect leaders, set goals, make and obey laws, settle disputes, and find ways to live together in peace. Some people interact easily with others, but some prefer to live a more isolated existence. Nation-states make similar decisions about how they will live in the world with other countries. These decisions may include whether they will enter into bilateral or multilateral agreements and treaties, as well as how they will try to settle disputes with other states. Decisions about how to deal with other countries are part of a country's foreign policy.

Although politicians, diplomats, and experts in foreign relations may set and handle foreign policy, their decisions touch people's everyday lives. If you think about your own life, for example, you will find evidence of Canada's foreign policy in action.

- Much of the food you eat comes from outside the country.
- Many of your clothes, shoes, and other possessions are made outside Canada.
- Many of the television shows you watch and much of the music you listen to is not Canadian-made.
- Your family income may rely on working for a company whose headquarters are in another country or whose profits rely on international sales.
- If you vacation outside Canada, the rules you must follow to gain entry to the country you have chosen are a result of foreign policy decisions.

These aspects of your life — and many more — are the result of agreements the Canadian government has made with other countries.

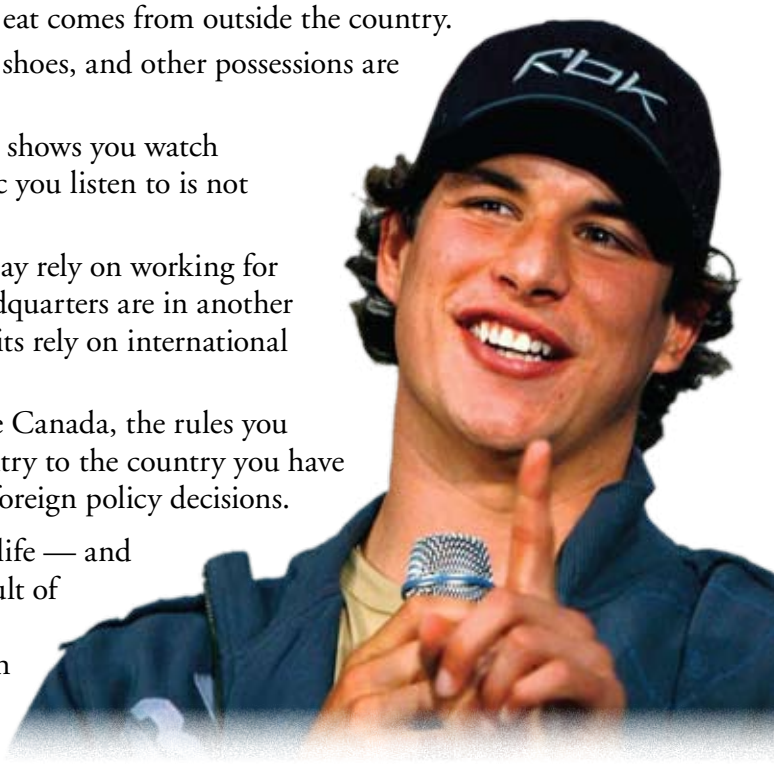


Figure 10-2 Canadian hockey star Sidney Crosby talks to the media in August 2007 while launching his fall collection of clothing. At the time, this gear was available only in Canada, and many American hockey fans wanted to know when they could get it in the United States. How might the foreign policy of the two countries affect whether U.S. hockey fans will get their wish?

Canada's long-term interests properly understood require that Canadian foreign policy reflect a commitment to international equity and justice.

— *Cranford Pratt, political scientist, in* International Journal, *1996*

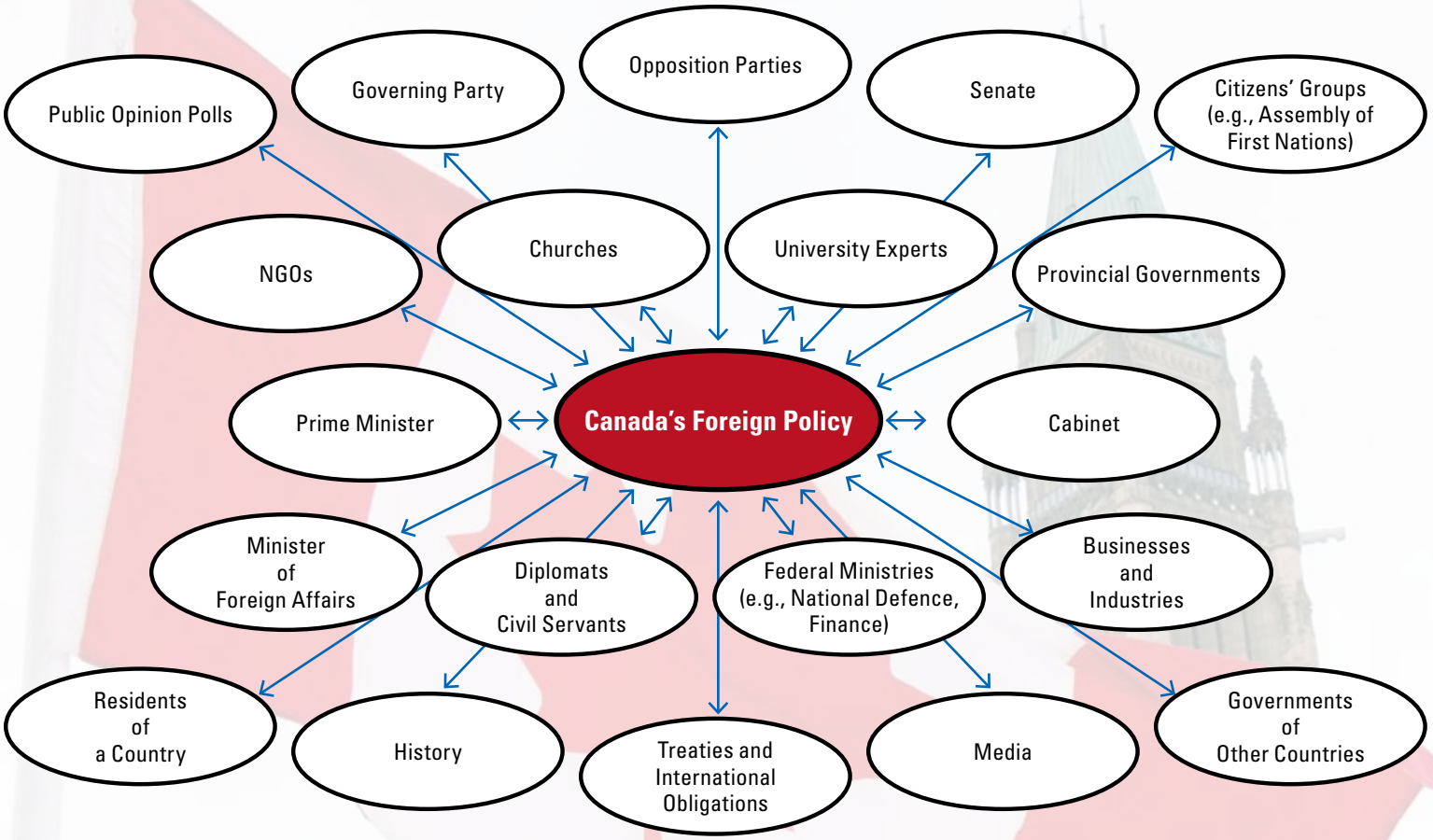
Influences on Foreign Policy Decisions

Do ordinary voters have enough information to make judgments about foreign policy decisions?

In countries ruled by a dictator, an absolute monarch, or a military junta — a committee of military leaders — setting foreign policy is relatively easy. This is because leaders like these can make decisions without consulting the people of their country. But in democracies, setting foreign policy is a more complex process that must reflect the beliefs, values, and goals of the country's citizens. Individuals, groups, and collectives influence government decisions on foreign policy.

Figure 10-3 on the following page shows some influences on Canada's foreign policy. Which groups do you think have the greatest influence? Should non-governmental groups, such as the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers, be able to influence Canada's foreign policy?

Figure 10-3 Some Influences on Canada's Foreign Policy



In democracies, citizens influence foreign policy by exercising their right to speak freely and vote. Citizens may also use the power of numbers to influence government. They may join organizations such as the Council of Canadians, which often speaks out on foreign policy issues that affect Canadians, and Amnesty International, which focuses on human rights.

Still, some individuals and groups exercise more influence than others. In Canada, the prime minister, the Cabinet, and members of Parliament who belong to the party in power are highly influential.

Foreign Policy Goals

Setting goals helps people plan for the future. Goals are something to aim for, and they can form the basis of an action plan that helps people achieve them. Think about your own goals in life and what you will need to do to meet them. With clear goals in mind, you can develop a blueprint for your future. Without goals, designing this blueprint is harder.

In the same way, clear foreign policy goals help guide the actions of governments. In 1995, Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada published a review of Canadian foreign policy. This report highlighted the importance of setting goals that reflect the values of a country's citizens. It said, "Only states with clear objectives, acting on a strong domestic consensus, will be able to deploy significant influence and play an effective role in this new world."

Web Connection

To find out more about the position taken by the Council of Canadians on various foreign policy issues, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

THE VIEW FROM HERE

How much does the public influence the Canadian government's foreign policy decisions? Has the public become more — or less — important in making these decisions? Here is how three people have responded to these questions.

Joe Clark is a former prime minister of Canada. He made these remarks in a 1994 speech to the Institute of International Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

A generic change has taken place in the context in which foreign policy is decided in developed democracies . . . If foreign policy was once a preserve of elites, it is now very much public policy which must take account of publics which are more knowledgeable, more assertive, and for good or for ill, more influenced by modern media . . . In my own country, which modestly claims to have invented peacekeeping, images out of Bosnia-Herzegovina have caused public opinion now to support Canada pulling out, whatever the consequences for the United Nations, whatever the consequences for the victims of the conflict. That has never happened before in Canada, and to their credit, members of Parliament in a very recent debate took a longer view. But any military engagement requires a longer view, and the combination of television and populism pulls in other directions. Public opinion is rarely a deterrent for peace-breakers, and it would be a terrible irony if it became one for peacemakers.

In 2003, when **Bill Graham** was minister of foreign affairs, he issued a paper titled "A Dialogue on Foreign Policy." In this document, Graham invited Canadians to comment on "the direction, priorities, and choices for Canada in the world."

The future of Canada's foreign policy lies in building on our distinctive advantages in a time of great change and uncertainty. Our diverse population makes us a microcosm of the world's peoples; our geography and population give us broad global interests; our economy is the most trade-oriented among the G7 nations; and our relationship with the United States is extensive and deep. With these and other assets, Canadians recognize that we have a unique basis for asserting a distinctive presence in the world. They also believe that in these times of enormous change, Canada must take stock of how we want to approach new and continuing international challenges. To represent the values, interests and aspirations of Canadians as we confront these challenges, our country's foreign policy must draw as broadly as possible on the views of our citizens.

Wilfried von Bredow is a foreign policy specialist at Marburg University in Germany. In 2001, von Bredow collaborated with the Centre for Canadian Studies at Mount Allison University in New Brunswick to create an online publication titled *Canada's Place in World Affairs*. This excerpt is from the publication.

The foreign policy of a country pursues the national interests of that country or, more precisely, what the current government perceives as the country's national interests . . . In a democratic society, individuals and groups are invited and encouraged to take part in the process of defining national interests and setting priorities. Foreign policy decision making is not confined to a small elite of people, but open to public debate. As a result, these decisions reflect the internal differences of opinion of the various political points of view.

Explorations

1. Identify the common threads in all three points of view.
2. In what ways might the media have a positive or negative influence on foreign policy?
3. In a country as diverse as Canada, is it ever possible to achieve consensus on a foreign policy? Explain the reasons for your response.

Foreign Policy in a Globalizing World

Until the end of World War II, governments and diplomats were the main players in international affairs. But since then, the increasing pace of globalization has changed international politics and reduced the role played by nation-states in international affairs. As this has happened, multinational corporations and international business, labour, and humanitarian organizations have come to play increasingly important roles.

Figure 10-4 A Beijing man flies a kite in Tiananmen Square on December 27, 2007, a day when air pollution in China's capital reached hazardous levels. Governments around the world have encouraged China to take steps to reduce pollution. How is pollution in China an international issue?

In an online publication titled *Canada's Place in World Affairs*, foreign policy specialist Wilfried von Bredow identified one result of this trend: "One of the many consequences of this process [globalization] is the decline of the state's importance as an actor, both within the country and in the international arena. Not all states are equally concerned with the effects of globalization, but all are touched by it in some way."

Von Bredow and others also believe that the changes brought about by globalization have blurred the boundaries between domestic and foreign policy. They have suggested that domestic and foreign policy are now so closely linked that it is often hard to distinguish between the two. Domestic policy is foreign policy and foreign policy is domestic policy.

This view is supported by the federal department of foreign affairs and international trade. In its 1995 review of Canada's foreign policy, it said:

> International trade rules now directly impact on labour, environmental and other domestic framework policies, previously regarded as the full prerogative of individual states. The implementation of international environmental obligations, for instance, could have major domestic implications for producers and consumers and impact on both federal and provincial governments. At the same time, in a world where prosperity is increasingly a function of expanding trade, foreign policy will be driven more than ever by the domestic demand for a better, freer and fairer international environment for trade.

Should multinational corporations have any say in a country's foreign policy?

At one time, foreign affairs and international trade were assigned to two separate federal departments, each with its own Cabinet minister. But in 1982, the two departments were combined into one: Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. How did this action reflect changes in the world? How might this pairing affect Canada's approach to foreign affairs and international trade? Would these effects be positive or negative?

Reflect and Respond

Cranford Pratt, a political scientist at the University of Toronto, has said that Canada's foreign policy should reflect a commitment to international equity and justice (see "Voices," p. 232). Think about each of the following imaginary scenarios. For each, list three criteria that Canadian officials could apply to promote international equality and justice.

- Canada and Chile want to negotiate a new trade agreement.
- Zimbabwe wants to buy a Canadian nuclear reactor to increase the country's power-generating capacity.
- A multinational corporation based in the United States wants to buy a large Canadian Internet service provider.

How can states promote internationalism through foreign policy?

When setting foreign policy goals, most countries try to balance their national and international interests. Taking an internationalist approach to solving problems can sometimes mean giving up control over aspects of sovereignty, and countries are often reluctant to do this.

When a Liberal government was in power, for example, Canada signed on to the Kyoto Protocol, an international agreement to reduce the greenhouse gases that are a major factor in global climate change. But when a Conservative government took over the reins in early 2006, Prime Minister Stephen Harper backed away from this pledge in favour of a "made-in-Canada" plan to deal with the problem.

Countries can use foreign policy to promote internationalism in several ways, such as through peacekeeping, through international law, and through foreign aid.

Promoting Peace

One of the most powerful ways states can use their foreign policy to promote internationalism is by supporting initiatives that encourage world peace. Because peace and economic stability often go hand in hand, countries such as Canada may develop foreign policies that encourage struggling states to become economically successful and self-supporting.

But this strategy raises many questions.

- Should a country that receives Canadian help be encouraged to introduce policies that reflect Canadian values, even when these conflict with the values of the country's people?
- How can the effectiveness of initiatives be measured?
- Will the money and resources reach the people who need them or fall into the hands of corrupt officials?

In addition, countries sometimes try to promote peace by imposing economic sanctions on a state. Economic sanctions involve cutting off trade with a country in an effort to force it to follow a particular course of action.

In 1990, for example, the United Nations imposed **economic sanctions** on Iraq. The goal was to force dictator Saddam Hussein to co-operate with the UN, though some said they were actually designed to make life so uncomfortable for Iraqis that they would rebel and oust Saddam from power.

Economic sanctions are controversial. In many cases, they are ineffective because a country has allies that help it get around the sanctions. Critics also argue that sanctions hurt a state's citizens, rather than its government.

Read "Voices" on this page. It presents two different views on the effectiveness of the economic sanctions imposed on Iraq. Canada participated in these sanctions. Were they an effective foreign policy tool? Explain your response.

Voices

Canada has been participating in the enforcement of UN sanctions against Iraq for 10 years, and our contribution is viewed as crucial by our allies. This operation will further strengthen Canada's military relationship with the United States and reaffirm our commitment to peace and stability in this region.

— Art Eggleton, Canada's defence minister, 2000

The combined effects of the "Gulf War" and the international embargo have killed 1.5 million men, women, and children in Iraq in the last 12 years. Among the victims are 750 000 children under 5 years old, according to UNICEF. The last two co-ordinators for the United Nations Humanitarian Program in Iraq have resigned to protest this embargo.

— Canadian Network to End Sanctions in Iraq, May 5, 2003

Figure 10-5 An Iraqi child receives a polio vaccination in 2000. Polio had been nearly eradicated in Iraq before the UN imposed sanctions, but medical supplies were included on the list of sanctioned goods. As a result, polio re-emerged as a serious childhood illness. Who would you blame for this — Saddam Hussein or the countries supporting sanctions?

Peacekeeping and Internationalism

When countries join the United Nations, they agree to support the actions of the Security Council. The Security Council is the UN's most powerful decision-making body. The UN charter requires all members to keep armed forces available for use by the Security Council. With this power, the Security Council hopes to protect the **collective security** of all UN members.

Many Canadians are proud of Canada's reputation for taking part in peacekeeping missions — and that a Canadian introduced peacekeeping to the world. Lester B. Pearson, who would later become prime minister, was Canada's minister of external affairs in 1956, when an international dispute arose over control of the Suez Canal. This waterway, which runs through Egypt, is a vital link that shortens the shipping route between Asia and Europe.

As the crisis brought the world to the brink of war, Pearson suggested that the UN ask countries that were not involved in the dispute to contribute troops to an emergency force. This force would keep peace in the area while a solution was negotiated. The UN endorsed Pearson's proposal, and the crisis was peacefully defused.

This action became a model for future UN peacekeeping missions in countries around the world — and Pearson was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts.

Since 1956, Canadian forces have taken part in about 50 peacekeeping missions in various countries. How has this participation helped shape Canada's national identity and foreign policy?

When and How Peacekeepers Are Used

Peacekeepers are not peacemakers. Peacekeepers are sent to conflict zones only after a ceasefire has been negotiated. Their role is to set up a buffer zone between the warring groups and to observe and report on what happens.

Peacekeepers help carry out agreements reached by the UN and governments that have negotiated these agreements. They also try to protect people involved in humanitarian efforts, such as providing food, shelter, and medical care to people caught up in conflicts. UN peacekeepers may provide security, but they can use force only in self-defence.

Troops involved in peacekeeping missions must adhere to the following guidelines:

- Consent — Peacekeepers must respect the sovereignty of the host country.
- Impartiality — Peacekeepers must not take sides.
- Self-Defence — Peacekeepers may use force only to defend themselves.

How might limiting peacekeepers' use of force make it difficult to ensure that warring groups comply with international agreements? Do you agree with this requirement? Why or why not?

Web Connection

To find out more about Canada and peacekeeping, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Should the United Nations have its own permanent army that could be used for peacekeeping and peacemaking?

Figure 10-6 A Canadian soldier wearing the blue helmet that identifies him as a UN peacekeeper chats with a young Muslim girl in Bosnia in 1994. The Bosnian mission was especially difficult and dangerous for Canadian peacekeepers, who often found themselves under fire from one side or the other. What might this photograph tell you about the way Canadian peacekeepers were viewed?

Questioning the Role of Peacekeeping

CheckBack

You read about the conflicts in Yugoslavia and Rwanda in Chapter 7.

Most peacekeeping missions have been successful, but several failures in the 1990s raised questions about the effectiveness of peacekeeping as a foreign policy tool.

One of the failures occurred in the former Yugoslavia. In June 1992, the first UN peacekeepers, including Canadian troops, arrived in the region. Despite their presence, the fighting and killing often continued. In many cases, the peacekeepers were helpless to act because of their limited numbers, lack of military power, and orders to avoid using force. As a result, they were often ineffective in preventing genocide.

In 1994, UN peacekeepers were again unable to prevent genocide. In 1993, the UN had sent 2600 troops, including 400 Canadians, to Rwanda under the command of Canadian general Roméo Dallaire. Their mission was to ensure that Rwanda's two main ethnic groups — Hutus and Tutsis — respected a peace agreement. But in 1994, the conflict reignited as Hutus started murdering Tutsis.

Dallaire had warned UN officials of the risk of genocide. He had also requested more peacekeeping troops and permission to seize Hutu weapons. Dallaire's warnings were ignored, and his requests were denied. Although the peacekeepers did as much as they could, they were unable to stop the slaughter.

Over a 100-day period, more than 800 000 Rwandans, mostly Tutsis, were killed. Because Dallaire's warnings had been ignored, the UN force was too small, and troops were forbidden to intervene in the conflict.

Read Dallaire's words in "Voices." What questions does his statement raise about the role of peacekeepers?

After the failure of peacekeeping in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda, critics suggested that traditional ideas about peacekeeping should be abandoned in favour of more active peacemaking, such as the tactics used by the multinational UN force that pushed Iraqi invaders out of Kuwait in 1991. The goal of peacemaking is to end armed conflict and human rights abuses. Peacemakers are not limited in the same way as peacekeepers. They need not remain neutral, they may shoot to kill, and their presence does not require the consent of the country they are sent into.

Voices

I could tell [the peacekeepers] to do things, but they would check with their country. The troops are under my operational command, but they remained under the ultimate command of their nations, so . . . if a national capital feels that a [rescue] mission is unwarranted, or too risky, or something, the soldiers can turn around and say, "No, I can't do it."

— General Roméo Dallaire, commander of UN forces in Rwanda, 1994

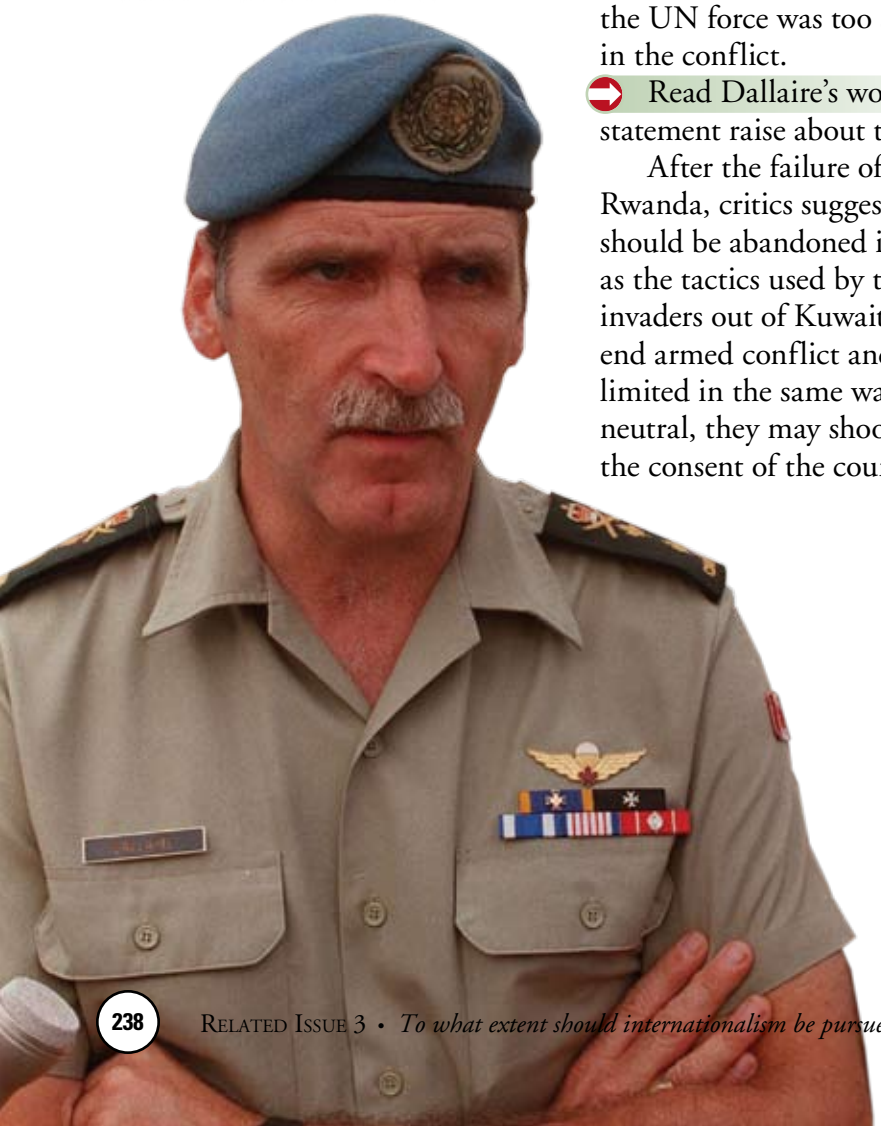


Figure 10-7 Major-General Roméo Dallaire is pictured at Kigali airport just before leaving Rwanda in August 1994. Dallaire's bestselling book, *Shake Hands with the Devil*, describes the slaughter — and the trauma he experienced as a result of what he had witnessed. In cases like Rwanda, should the UN abandon peacekeeping in favour of direct military intervention to make peace and protect people?

International Law and Agreements

International co-operation is essential when the national interest or foreign policy goals of one country conflict with those of another. To help resolve the disputes arising from these conflicts, a body of international law has developed. International law is based on international treaties, agreements, and conventions; UN resolutions; and widely accepted international practices.

International law is interpreted by the UN's International Court of Justice, or World Court. The World Court tries to settle international disputes peacefully — but some countries are reluctant to recognize its authority or abide by its decisions.

In some cases, this is because governments do not want to surrender the right to make decisions based on their own national interest. The United States, for example, has refused to accept the authority of the World Court since 1986. At that time, the court ruled that the U.S. had violated a number of international laws by helping rebels who were trying to overthrow the government of Nicaragua.

FYI

A contemporary expression of internationalism and the common heritage of humankind was expressed in the UN's Antarctic Treaty of 1959. The treaty said, "It is in the interest of all mankind that Antarctica shall continue forever to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and shall not become the scene or object of international discord."

The International Law of the Sea

The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea is an example of an agreement that has become part of international law. This agreement sets out rules for the high seas — waters that lie beyond the territorial waters of any country. It defines territorial waters as those extending 22 kilometres from a country's coast and gives coastal countries, such as Canada, the exclusive right to control fishing, mining, and the environment in an area up to 370 kilometres from shore.

The Law of the Sea has been controversial, and Canada did not ratify — accept — this convention until 2003. One reason for the delay was concern over the future of fishing on the Grand Banks.

The Grand Banks are formed by an underwater shelf that extends up to 730 kilometres off the southeast coast of the island of Newfoundland. At one time, this area formed the world's richest fishing grounds, but technological advances in the late 20th century led to overfishing, often by large European vessels. Overfishing reduced fish stocks and destroyed the livelihood of many Newfoundlanders.

To revitalize the fishing industry and enable fish stocks to rebound, Canada believes that it must regulate fishing on the entire Grand Banks. As a result, the Canadian government is working to support Canada's claim to control the entire continental shelf in this area.

Conduct research to find out how Canada's case for extending its control of the continental shelf has progressed since 2008.

Web Connection

To find out more about Canada's position on the Law of the Sea, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Figure 10-8 In 1995, Fisheries Canada created an international uproar when it seized this Spanish fishing trawler in international waters. The trawler was taken to St. John's, Newfoundland. The Canadian government accused the ship's crew of violating fishing rules by catching immature turbot. Was this seizure justified? Why or why not?

Persuading, Compromising, and Negotiating to Resolve Conflicts and Differences

The Convention on the Law of the Sea was developed by building consensus. No part of the convention was adopted by a majority vote. All countries that have ratified it have agreed to accept all parts. Ratifying countries have also accepted a process for settling disputes.

For Canada, fishing on the Grand Banks remains an issue. About one-third of this rich fishing area lies outside the 370-kilometre zone defined by the Law of the Sea. Foreign vessels — mostly European — have continued to fish in this area, and many have ignored rules Canada has put in place to maintain fish stocks. As a result, fish stocks have declined dramatically over the past decades.

Suppose your class were asked to draft an international convention to govern fishing on the Grand Banks. To arrive at a consensus on an agreement like this, you would need to take into account the national interests of various countries, as well as the interests of a number of groups. Collaboration, persuasion, negotiation, and compromise would be necessary. The following steps can help you develop the persuading, negotiating, and compromising skills necessary to collaborate to achieve consensus.

Steps to Persuading, Compromising, and Negotiating to Resolve Conflicts and Differences

Step 1: Decide on the stakeholders and assign roles

International agreements can be effective and widely accepted only if they take into account the interests of all stakeholders. In a small group, examine the map of the Grand Banks in Figure 10-9, then brainstorm to create a list of the stakeholders who would have an interest in a convention on fishing in this area. Identify the interest of each stakeholder. A chart like the one shown on this page can help you do this.

Your list is likely to include the government of Canada, as well as fishers from Newfoundland and Labrador. But who else would have an interest in an agreement on fishing on the Grand Banks?

Assign a group member to play the role of each stakeholder. If your list includes more stakeholders than group members, decide on the most important stakeholders and assign roles only for these. Ensure that the stakeholders you choose represent a range of views.

In role, choose a chair to guide the discussion and to ensure that everyone participates and stays on task.

Step 2: Clarify each stakeholder's position on the issue and goals

In role, stakeholders should jot notes outlining the reasons they are concerned about fishing on the Grand Banks and what measures they think will resolve these concerns. A stakeholder representing Newfoundland fishers, for example, may say that he or she wants to ensure that fish stocks rebound so that Newfoundlanders can once again make a living by fishing. This stakeholder may suggest a ban on all foreign fishing on the Grand Banks.

Then give each stakeholder one minute to express her or his position to the group.

Fishing on the Grand Banks

Stakeholder	Interest

Step 3: Identify points of agreement

Once everyone has spoken, identify points of agreement. Everyone, for example, may agree that increasing fish stocks on the Grand Banks is in the interest of all stakeholders. On this basis, draft a statement that summarizes the issue and identifies what the group hopes to achieve during the negotiating session.

During this phase of the activity, your goal is to achieve consensus on common ground and to express this in your statement. As a result, your statement may be very general.

Step 4: Persuade, negotiate, and compromise

With the group's statement in mind, discuss and try to reach consensus on specific actions that would help achieve the goals expressed in your statement.

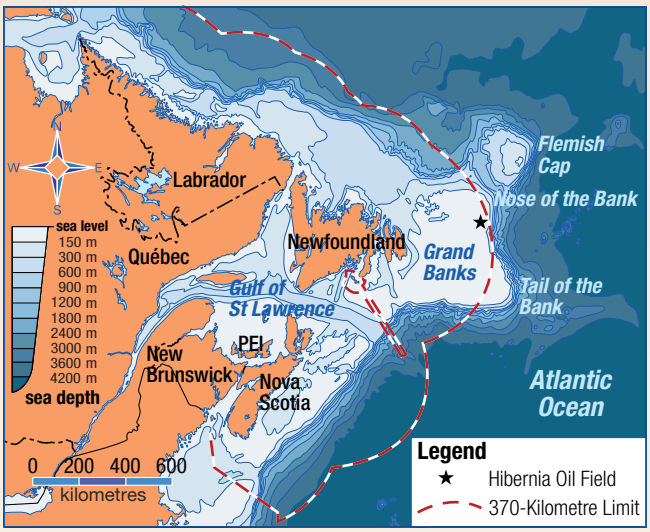
In the role of your assigned stakeholder, you must be prepared to

- persuade — try to win over other stakeholders through reasoning and persistence
- compromise — give up something you want to meet the needs of another stakeholder
- negotiate — achieve consensus through discussion and agreement

In a discussion like this, give and take is essential. Listen carefully to what is said by other stakeholders. Ask questions to clarify meaning or ask people to expand on what they have said. Look for areas of agreement — and build on these.

Express disagreement with sensitivity. Use "I" messages to express your concerns. Rather than blaming or criticizing the statements of another stakeholder, explain your own position and try to find common ground.

Figure 10-9 Grand Banks



Step 5: Summarize your progress

The goal of your negotiating session is to achieve consensus on actions that will accommodate — to a reasonable extent — the differences in the views of the various stakeholders. When your allotted time for discussion is up, the chair should summarize areas of agreement on specific actions, as well as areas of continuing disagreement.

Some groups may have reached a complete consensus, but others may have reached only partial agreement. Still, this partial agreement could provide the foundation for future negotiating sessions.

Step 6: Present the results of your discussion to the class

The chair of each group should summarize the results of their discussion for the class, outlining areas of agreement and disagreement. Allow time for class members to ask questions and suggest strategies and solutions that worked for their group.

Summing Up

Reflect on the role play you just completed. Which strategies worked most effectively in your group? Did classmates suggest other strategies that you could try next time? Understanding strategies for persuading, compromising, and negotiating can help you and others to find common ground in many different situations.

International Agreements and the Arctic

CheckBack

You read about the debate over Arctic sovereignty in Chapter 5.

The importance of the Convention on the Law of the Sea was highlighted in the summer of 2007. Russian scientists had been exploring the Arctic for months to discover the extent of mineral and energy resources under the ice. Then Russia announced that its expedition had planted a capsule containing a Russian flag 4200 metres below sea level at the North Pole.

Though some people dismissed the flag planting as a publicity stunt, it renewed interest in the competing claims to territory in the Arctic. Since the 1920s, for example, Russian maps have marked large parts of the Arctic as Russian territory.

The Canadian, Danish, Norwegian, and American governments challenge Russia's claims. Canada, for example, says that the waters separating its Arctic islands are frozen for most of the year. Inuit hunters spend some of the year working and even living on this ice. The government maintains that their activity has turned this ice into an extension of Canada's territory.

But according to the Law of the Sea, the area around the North Pole is in international waters because it is located beyond the 370-kilometre limit of all five countries with Arctic claims. This international area is administered by the International Seabed Authority, which was established under the Law of the Sea.

The Law of the Sea allows the five countries with territory in the Arctic to file claims to extend their domain — if they can prove that their continental shelves are geographically linked to the Arctic seabed. As a result, the Russian action has sparked a flurry of scientific activity as all five countries rush to find evidence supporting their own claims to parts of this zone.

Do these competing claims to Arctic sovereignty illustrate the success or failure of internationalism?

Voices

The Arctic is Russian. We must prove the North Pole is an extension of the Russian coastal shelf.

— Artur Chilingov, Arctic explorer and leader of the Russian expedition to plant a flag under the North Pole, 2007

Figure 10-10 This satellite photograph of Lancaster Sound in the Northwest Passage between Canada and Greenland was taken in September 2007. As a result of global climate change, this passage may become clear enough of ice to permit safe commercial shipping for at least part of the year. If this happens, how might it affect Canadian foreign policy in the Arctic?

Figure 10-11 A Russian deep-diving miniature submarine is lowered into the Arctic Ocean on August 2, 2007. This mini-submarine was one of two that descended 4200 metres to the ocean floor as Russia staked its claim to much of the Arctic's oil and mineral wealth. Why might an international solution to the issue of Arctic sovereignty be necessary?

Foreign Aid and Internationalism

Countries also promote internationalism by delivering foreign aid. Every year, billions of dollars are transferred from developed to developing countries for humanitarian and other purposes. This money may be used to provide medical supplies, food, clothing, and building supplies. Foreign aid may also be directed toward infrastructure projects, such as sewage treatment facilities and road building.

Foreign aid has the greatest impact when countries co-ordinate their foreign aid policies. This internationalist approach involves both the countries giving the aid and those receiving it in making decisions about the most effective use of foreign aid dollars. This helps avoid delays created by debates over where funds should be directed.

Read Roger Riddell's words in "Voices." How do his words reflect his support of an internationalist approach to foreign aid? Do you support this approach? Why or why not?

Waves of evidence suggest that successful development and the greatest hope of a permanent escape from poverty lie in aid that is rooted in the lives of people, that addresses their needs in relation to their priorities, and that is undertaken with their participation.

— Roger C. Riddell, senior research fellow, Overseas Development Institute, 1996

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Jenna Hoyt
The Power of One

MAKING A DIFFERENCE
MAKING A DIFFERENCE
MAKING A DIFFERENCE

When Ottawa-born nursing student Jenna Hoyt first visited Ethiopia in 2003, she was stunned by the misery she saw. "For a while, I thought this couldn't actually be a place on Earth where people suffer like this," Hoyt told the *Ottawa Citizen*.

Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in Africa. Incomes are low, infectious disease rates are high, and about two-thirds of people are illiterate. UNICEF estimates that as many as 150 000 children work and live on the streets of Addis Ababa, the country's capital. As a result, Ethiopia — like Zimbabwe — ranks high on the Failed States Index.

When Hoyt returned to Canada, she created the Little Voice Foundation. As its motto, the foundation adopted the words of politician and philosopher Edmund Burke: "Nobody made a greater mistake than they who did nothing because they thought they could only do a little."

The mission of Little Voice is to support communities in developing countries through education, health care, housing, and hospice facilities. Hoyt began raising money, and in February 2006, the foundation opened a primary school in Addis Ababa. In Ethiopia, most schools charge fees of about $6.70 a month. This sum is beyond the means of many families, and more than a third of Ethiopian children cannot afford an education.

Figure 10-12 Jenna Hoyt poses with students and staff at the Little Voice School. When she graduated with a nursing degree in 2008, Hoyt planned to live permanently in Africa.

By September 2007, Little Voice volunteers had raised enough money that the school was able to offer free schooling to all its 200 students. Little Voice was also able to open a second school, and in July 2006, Little Voice also opened a home for about 30 street children.

Hoyt says that all Little Voice programs are run by "people from the community for the benefit of community." She believes strongly that one person — one little voice — can make a difference in the world.

Explorations

1. As many as 150 000 children live on the streets of Addis Ababa. Do you believe that providing schooling for 200 of these children and a home for about 30 more can make a difference? Explain your response.
2. How does the story of Jenna Hoyt and the Little Voice Foundation reflect an internationalist perspective?
3. Why might it be important for Little Voice projects in Ethiopia to be operated and run by Ethiopians?

The 0.7 Per Cent Solution

In 1969, former Canadian prime minister Lester B. Pearson, who had a continuing interest in international affairs, challenged the world's richest countries to spend 0.7 per cent of their gross national income on foreign aid. **Gross national income** — or GNI — refers to the total value of the goods and services produced by a country in a year, whether inside or outside the country's borders.

So far, only Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden have met — or exceeded — Pearson's target. The foreign aid spending of most developed countries is well below this mark. In 2006, for example, Canada's foreign aid amounted to 0.33 per cent of GNI, about half the targeted amount.

Not everyone agrees that Canada should spend more. Many foreign policy experts, including Josée Verner, Canada's minister of international co-operation, believe that the country should focus on delivering aid more effectively, rather than on spending more money.

Canada should have been number 1 [to meet Lester Pearson's foreign aid challenge]. It is the home of 0.7.

— Jeffrey Sachs, director of the United Nations Millennium Project, 2005

Once an undisputed symbol of solidarity with those struck down by misfortune and adversity, humanitarian assistance is now vilified by many as part of the problem, feeding fighters, strengthening perpetrators of genocide, creating new war economies, fuelling conflicts and perpetuating crises.

— Clare Short, British politician, 1998

Criticism of Foreign Aid Policy

Humanitarianism is often the main motive for providing aid to other countries. But other motives can also inspire nation-states to offer aid. These may include strategic and political interests, as well as historical relationships between the giving and receiving countries.

Sometimes, help is offered in the form **tied aid**. When aid is tied, strings are attached. Donor countries may, for example, issue credits that require the country receiving the aid to buy goods and services only from them.

This strategy has been criticized because donor countries may not offer the highest-quality goods and services at the cheapest price. When aid is provided with no strings attached, the receiving country can buy from any source — including other developing countries. This increases trade and development in the countries that need it most.

Ensuring that aid reaches the people who need it is another challenge. Corrupt officials in the receiving countries sometimes seize aid money and supplies instead of distributing it to needy citizens. In addition, delays and errors often slow the delivery of aid. This can result from the size and complexity of some foreign aid projects. Ghana, for example, receives aid from a variety of sources. As a result, the Ghanaian government must deal with several dozen NGOs, 15 major donor countries, and a number of UN agencies that all have different priorities and accountability requirements. These varying requirements can overwhelm a government's resources.

Figure 10-13 In 2006, Afghan women called for continued food distribution. The Canadian International Development Agency co-ordinates the distribution of Canadian aid. CIDA's priorities for aid distribution are democratic governance, private sector development, health, education, equality between women and men, and environmental sustainability. Do these priorities reflect Canadian values?

Reflect and Respond

Should donor countries place restrictions on the way foreign aid money is spent?

Present your response in the form of an essay of at least five paragraphs. Ensure that your position is supported by information and examples.

How does Canadian foreign policy try to balance national interest and internationalism?

Like other countries, Canada tries to develop foreign policy that balances the national interest and internationalism. Building strong relationships with other countries is important, but promoting the interests of Canadian citizens is just as important. Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada is the federal department responsible for administering foreign policy.

Striking a balance between national interests and internationalism can be difficult. Events such as natural disasters and the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States can change the world unexpectedly. In addition, the conditions that formed the basis of an agreement may change in a way that makes the agreement ineffective, or one or more states may violate the rules of an international agreement. In cases like these, governments must re-evaluate their foreign policy priorities to promote the interests of citizens while maintaining their reputation in the world community.

Figure 10-15 sets out Canada's continuing foreign policy goals as they were defined in 2007–2008. These priorities are expressed in general terms. Identify an example that shows how each supports Canada's national interest while promoting internationalism. If you could add a priority to this list, what would it be? Explain how your addition would promote both the national interest and internationalism.

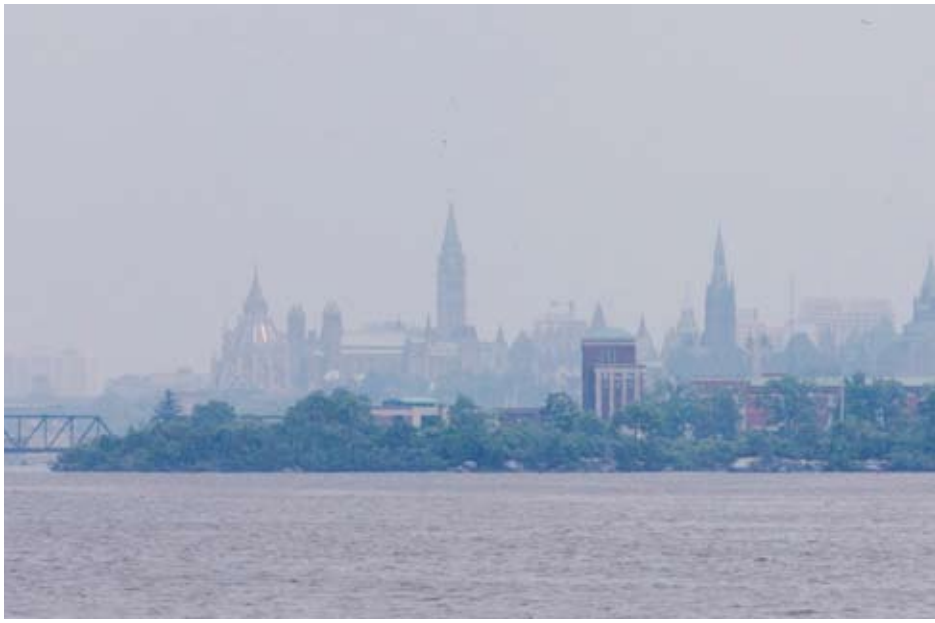


Figure 10-14 A haze of smog enveloped Ottawa in the summer of 2007. Smog is a mixture of gases formed when pollutants emitted by industries combine with the exhaust from cars, trucks, and other gasoline-powered engines. How can combatting smog combine a country's national and international interests?

Figure 10-15 Canada's Continuing Foreign Affairs and International Trade Priorities, 2007–2008

1. A safer, more secure, and prosperous Canada within a strengthened North American partnership.
2. Greater economic competitiveness for Canada through enhanced commercial engagement, secure market access, and targeted support for Canadian business.
3. Greater international support for freedom and security, democracy, rule of law, human rights, and environmental stewardship.
4. Accountable and consistent use of the multilateral system to deliver results on global issues of concern to Canadians.
5. Strengthened services to Canadians, including consular, passport, and global commercial activities.
6. Better alignment of departmental resources (human, financial, physical, and technological) in support of international policy objectives and program delivery both at home and abroad.

Canada and Peacekeeping — Myth and Reality

IMPACT

Ever since Lester B. Pearson proposed resolving the 1956 Suez crisis by forming an international peacekeeping force, Canadians have regarded themselves as a nation of peacekeepers. International public opinion polls have also found that people in many other countries view Canada in this light.

From 1956 to 1990, this vision of Canada was accurate. In those years, Canadians participated in all UN peacekeeping missions. But in the 1990s, the number of UN missions increased, and Canada did not have the resources to take part in them all. Still, the country's commitment to peacekeeping remained strong. The statistics in Figure 10-17 show this commitment.

Canadian Peacekeepers in the Former Yugoslavia

Canada's most extensive peacekeeping mission occurred in the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s. As the Cold War ended, Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia demanded independence and the Yugoslavian federation started to disintegrate. Serbia opposed the independence movements, and fierce fighting erupted as ethnic and religious groups turned on one another.

Figure 10-16 Soldiers carry the coffin of Canadian peacekeeper Mark Bourque during a ceremony in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, in December 2005. Bourque and another peacekeeper were ambushed as they drove through a conflict area in this troubled country. Is it right to put Canadians in harm's way for the sake of peacekeeping?

Hundreds of thousands of refugees fled for their lives. People were homeless and hungry. The UN Security Council recognized that this crisis threatened world peace, and the UN negotiated several ceasefires so that peacekeeping forces could be sent in. But there was little peace to keep.

Canadian troops were part of the UN protection force in Bosnia and Croatia. In Croatia, the government allowed armed groups to invade areas under UN protection and commit atrocities. Although Canadian peacekeepers witnessed and reported many of the atrocities, the UN forbade them to intervene.

Then, in September 1993, about 875 members of the 2nd Battalion of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry were ordered to an area of Croatia known as the Medak Pocket. The PPCLIs' mission was to protect several Serbian villages against attack by Croatian troops. When the Croatians opened fire with machine guns and heavy artillery, the Canadians were forced to defend themselves. The PPCLIs pushed the Croats out of the area — and earned the Canadians a rare award from the UN.

Figure 10-17 Canada's Peacekeeping Record

Number of Canadian who served on peacekeeping missions, 1956–2006	125 000
Number of Canadian peacekeepers killed	108
Canada's most extensive peacekeeping mission	Croatia and Bosnia in the 1990s — 1600 troops and police
Number of Canadians serving as peacekeepers worldwide in 2006	100

Source: UN Peacekeeping Project, United Nations Association in Canada

The Peacekeeping Debate

The events at the Medak Pocket helped spark a continuing debate in the world community over the effectiveness of the UN tradition of peacekeeping — and whether the idea of peacekeeping was out of date and should be replaced by peacemaking.

This debate became even more intense after the failure of the UN to prevent the Rwandan genocide in 1994.

More and more Canadians began to question whether Canada should continue to participate in UN peacekeeping missions. In 2006, for example, retired Canadian major-general Lewis MacKenzie, who had commanded UN peacekeepers in Bosnia, told a forum on the future of peacekeeping that he wanted "to get rid of the Canadian myth" of peacekeeping. Mackenzie said that peacekeeping is "the most misunderstood and abused term in this country."

Political columnist Jim Travers disagreed. "Peacekeeping ranks up there with hockey . . . It is important in [Canadians'] self-definition," Travers told the forum. "Where peacekeeping wobbled off the track and remains off the track is that peacemaking is an aggressive and smug export of Canadian values." To get peacekeeping back on track, he said, "We need to make a difference, not just a cheap political statement, make a genuine effort to help."

Figure 10-18 Selected Arguments for and against Canada's Continued Participation in UN Peacekeeping Missions

For	Against
Canada has a long, proud history of peacekeeping.	This does not mean it must continue to do so.
Peacekeeping helps define Canada in the international community.	In 2006, Canada's contribution to peacekeeping ranked 55th out of 108 contributing countries.
Peacekeeping helps set Canada apart from the United States.	Canada has strong ties with many countries besides the United States.
Canadians draw part of their identiy from their vision of the military as peacekeepers, not warriors.	The nature of armed conflict has changed, and UN peacekeepers are no longer as respected by combatants as they once were.
Peacekeeping has successfuly maintained world peace by enabling warring sides to find solutions.	Peacekeeping has not rid the world of conflict. Wars and armed conflicts throughout the world have continued to result in millions of casualties.
The UN plays the most important role in maintaining global peace and security.	Military alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have also played an important role in protecting collective security.

Explorations

1. After World War II, many Nazis accused of committing war crimes claimed that they were only following orders. This defence was not accepted. But what about peacekeepers who witness murder and do nothing because their orders bar them from intervening?

   Suppose a peacekeeper were charged with failing to take action to prevent a war crime. List an argument that could be used by each of the following:

   a) the peacekeeper's lawyer

   b) the prosecutor who laid the charge

   c) the judge deciding on the peacekeeper's guilt or innocence

2. A soldier who fails to obey an order may be court-martialled and face a prison term. This means that peacekeepers who disagree with orders face a difficult choice. Should an option besides obeying or disobeying be open to peacekeepers? If so, explain what it should be. If not, explain why not.

3. Is peacekeeping an important part of Canada's national identity or a myth created for political purposes? Explain your response.

Landmines and Foreign Policy

FYI

Someone steps on a landmine somewhere every 20 minutes. Landmines kill 72 people every day: 90 per cent of victims are civilians and 40 per cent are children. Landmines cost as little as $3 (U.S.) to make but up to $1000 (U.S.) to remove. Estimates suggest that more than 45 million landmines are still in place around the world.

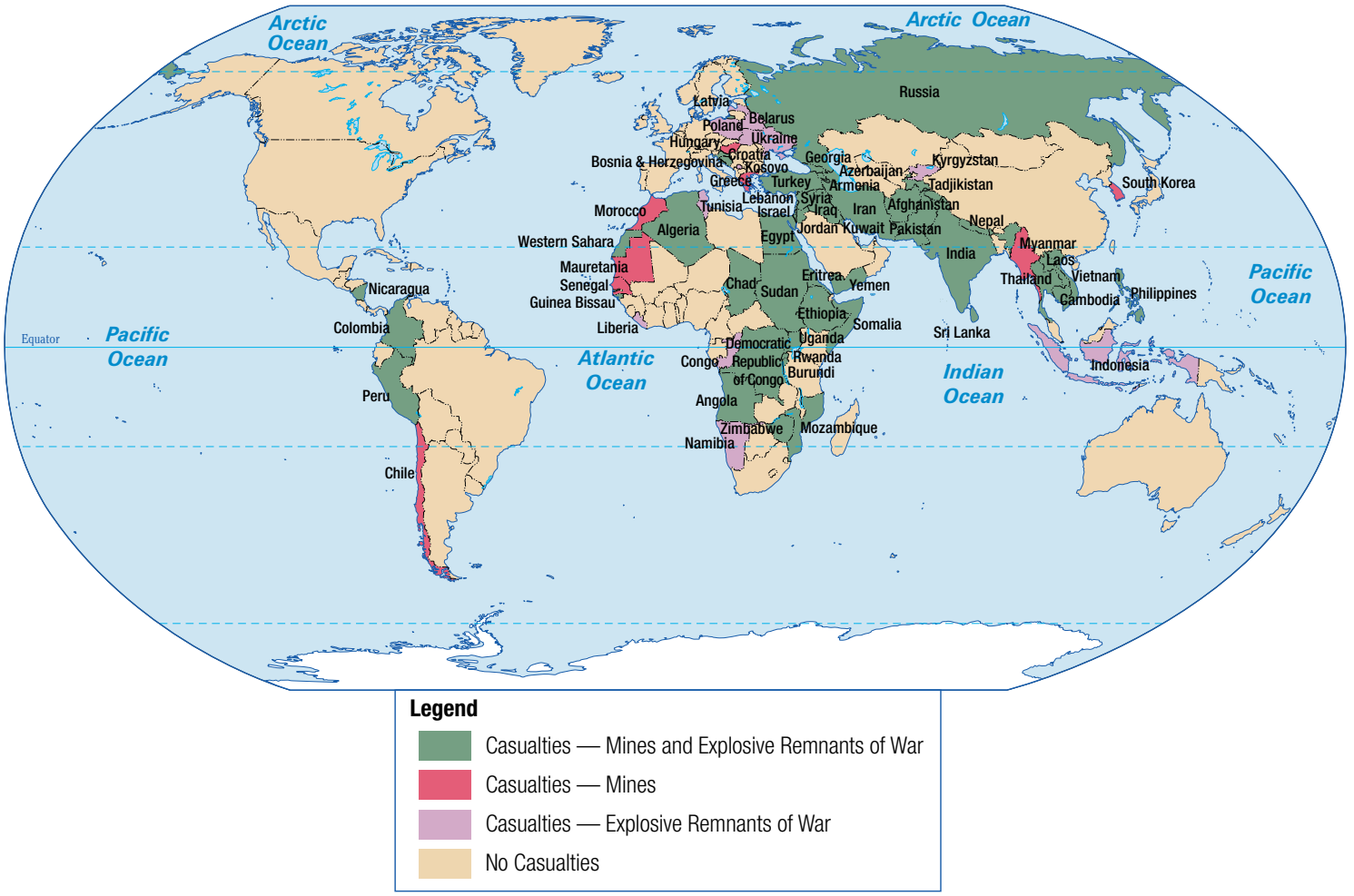
Controlling weapons of war is difficult, but it is an important internationalist goal. Hundreds of millions of landmines, for example, have been used in conflicts around the world. Troops often plant them to protect their bases, and they are a cheap and effective tool in guerrilla wars. But these weapons remain in the ground long after a war has ended. They pose a threat to civilians and are costly and dangerous to remove.

In 1980, the United Nations Convention on Inhumane Weapons tried to establish rules for using landmines. One of the rules said that mines must be removed at the end of a war. When this convention was largely ignored, the UN tried to implement an outright ban in 1996. But only 14 countries endorsed the ban.

In 1992, a small group of NGOs asked American activist Jody Williams to start a campaign against landmines. Williams worked with the group to found and build the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, an organization that is supported by more than 1400 NGOs in 90 countries.

What does Williams's action reveal about the ability of individuals to influence foreign policy and bring about change?

Figure 10-19 Landmines in the World, 2006



Source: Landmine Monitor Report 2006

The Ottawa Treaty

In 1997, Williams and Canadian foreign affairs minister Lloyd Axworthy organized an international meeting in Ottawa. This resulted in the drafting of a convention that is often called the Ottawa Treaty. This treaty banned the use of landmines and required governments to contribute to removing existing mines.

By mid-2007, 157 countries, including Canada, had signed this treaty. But the United States, China, Russia, and India had refused to sign, saying that landmines are necessary for defence.

In 2002, Canada, the European Union, and the United States committed $94 million (Cdn) to clearing landmines in Afghanistan. Seven thousand Afghans were trained to remove the mines, but Taliban fighters have continued to plant them. Mines have killed or wounded dozens of Canadian soldiers and thousands of Afghan citizens.

Does Canada's position on landmines strike a balance between national interest and internationalism? Does this reflect Canadian identity?

Web Connection

To find out more about the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Taking Turns

In a globalizing world, should national interest be the focus of foreign policy?

The students responding to this question are Harley, a member of the Kainai Nation near Lethbridge; Jane, who lives in Calgary and is descended from black Loyalists who fled to Nova Scotia after the American Revolution; and Amanthi, who lives in Edson and whose parents immigrated from Sri Lanka.

Harley

We have to look beyond ourselves and our own community. September 11, 2001, showed that our safety can be threatened by people who live on the other side of the world, so Canadian foreign policy should reflect the fact that security is an international concern. We now live in a global village, and we have to consider that those in need on other continents are also part of our community. We should expect our foreign policy to reflect these realities.

It's naive to tie ourselves to some vague idea of internationalism. We can clearly reach a consensus only on what's best for Canada's national interest. This is real and this is now. If we look out for ourselves, Canada will continue to be a safe haven for others — and in the end, this will be good for the world. This is a diverse country founded on strong values and the rule of law. Too many other countries are run by dictators or have values that conflict with ours. Let them fight among themselves while we take care of ourselves.

Jane

Amanthi

I think that international solutions to problems related to the environment, human rights, and poverty have a good chance of working and should be part of Canada's foreign policy. It's in our national interest to have a stable economy in a peaceful world — and what happens in other countries eventually affects Canada. So internationalism is in our own national interest.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Harley, Jane, and Amanthi are answering? Do views they did not mention influence your response? What does this discussion show about the complex process of balancing national interest and internationalism?

1. In this chapter, you explored this issue: To what extent can foreign policy promote internationalism?

   With a partner, identify and deconstruct the elements of this question. To help you do this, return to the prologue (pp. 4–5) and discuss the following questions. Then respond to the chapter-issue question.

   The following will help you shape your response. Be sure to include the ideas brought out in the bullets that accompany each element of the question, as well as other factors you consider important. You may present your completed response as an essay, a series of "interviews" between a reporter and an "expert," a media report, or in another format — or you may choose to use computer presentation software.

   a) To what extent . . .
   - What limits are suggested by this phrase?
   - Does this phrase allow us to respond, "Not at all"?
   - Can an answer to a question that starts this way ever be complete?

   b) . . . can . . .
   - Does this verb imply "should"?
   - What is the difference between something that *can* be done and something that *should* be done?

   c) . . . foreign policy . . .
   - What goals should foreign policy promote?
   - What role should Canada's national interest play in developing foreign policy?
   - How closely should Canada's international aid be tied to foreign policy goals?

   d) . . . promote . . .
   - What does "promote" mean?
   - What other verbs might have been used instead? Why was "promote" chosen?

   e) . . . internationalism?
   - What is our understanding of internationalism?
   - What are some positive and negative effects on Canada of internationalism?
   - How has internationalism affected Canadian foreign policy?
   - Can — or should — foreign policy be used to promote internationalism?

2. The graph in Figure 10-20 shows the Canadian government's contributions to foreign aid in selected years.

   a) Comment on the trends the graph reveals.

   b) Prepare a short briefing paper setting out your observations on the trends and offering your advice to the government officials who decide how much should be spent on foreign aid.

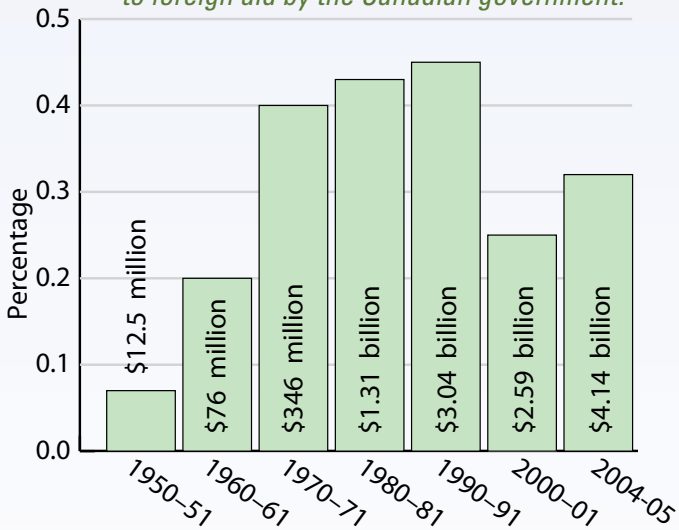
   c) Some of Canada's foreign aid takes the form of goods, such as wheat, computers, and building supplies. Other aid takes the form of services, such as technical support, expert advice, training programs, and teachers. Are these effective ways of delivering foreign aid? Explain your answer.

   d) The following proverb is often attributed to the ancient Chinese philosopher Laozi. Comment on Canada's foreign aid in light of Laozi's words.

   > Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day. Teach him how to fish and you feed him for a lifetime.

Figure 10-20 Percentage of Canada's GNI Dedicated to Government Foreign Aid, 1950–2005

Total money, goods, and services dedicated to foreign aid by the Canadian government.



Note: Figures rounded to nearest million.
Source: Canadian International Development Agency

3. Read the three quotations that follow. Then write a short piece setting out the concerns identified by these observers and expressing your opinion on how the Canadian government might respond to these concerns.

Engineers Without Borders, 2008

> Receiving tied aid is costly and inefficient; in receiving tied aid, countries are automatically limited in their ability to seek appropriate, low-cost goods and services . . . Canadian aid often ends up right back in the pockets of Canadian corporations, rather than where it is needed most.

Walter Williams, economist and columnist, 2005

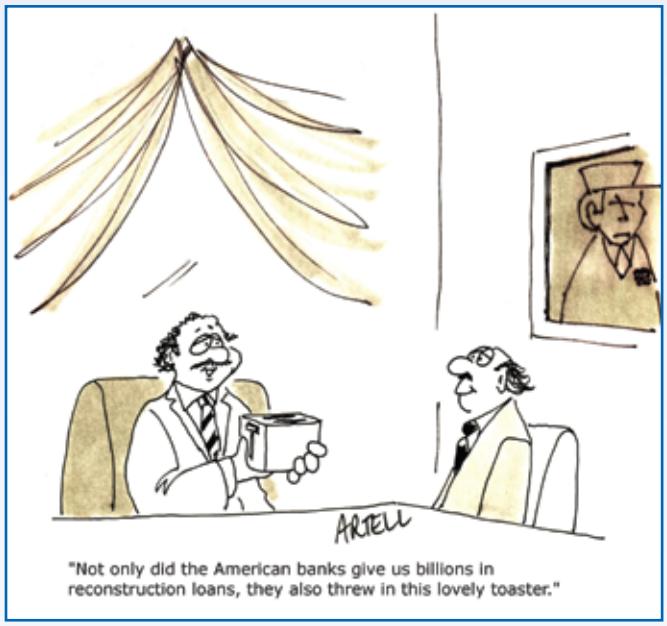
> The worst thing that can be done is to give more foreign aid to African nations. Foreign aid goes from government to government. Foreign aid allows Africa's corrupt regimes to buy military equipment, pay off cronies and continue to oppress their people.

William Easterly in *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good*, 2006

> [A worldwide tragedy for people who are poor has been that] the West spent $2.3 trillion on foreign aid over the last five decades and still had not managed to get twelve-cent medicines to children to prevent half of all malaria deaths. The West spent $2.3 trillion and still had not managed to get four-dollar bed nets to poor families. The West spent $2.3 trillion and still had not managed to get three dollars to each new mother to prevent five million child deaths.

4. Examine the cartoon by Kjell Nilsson-Mäki in Figure 10-21.
   a) In point form, describe Nilsson-Mäki's message.
   b) On the basis of your current understanding of foreign aid, do you think this message is justified? Explain your answer.
   c) Create a drawing or cartoon that expresses your informed opinion about foreign aid. Your graphic might express your opinion on the amount of aid given by Canada, the kind of aid, the effect of aid on Canada's foreign policy, or some other aspect of aid.

Figure 10-21



Think about Your Challenge

For this challenge, you are preparing a presentation as a delegate to a mock international summit to find solutions to the world water crisis. At this stage, decide on a format for presenting your ideas to the summit. You may choose to write a speech, to create large visuals and charts, to use computer software to generate materials, or to use a combination of methods.

Continue to refer to your inquiry questions as a guide to your research. The format of your presentation will be decided in large part by the kind of information you have collected.